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AUTHOR Raphael, Taffy E.; Brock, Cynthia H.
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ABSTRACT

A case study described Mei, a second language learner from Vietnam, in terms of her participation in a literature-based reading instructional program, Book Club. The context of the case study was an urban neighborhood K-5 school in a large midwestern city district. Data were collected about Mei from third through fifth grades using reading logs, journal entries, audio- and video-tapes of Mei's Book Clubs, field notes, and interviews with Mei, her teachers, and her family. Three target Book Clubs representative of the entire data set were selected and analyzed. Results indicated that: (1) the amount of Mei's participation increased from a fifth of the overall contributions in her fourth grade four-member Book Club, to a third of the overall contributions in her five-member Book Club during the spring of fifth grade; (2) there was an increase in Mei's self-confidence, in terms of increased initiations of new topics and persistence in getting her topics discussed by her peers; and (3) changes in substantive features of Mei's discourse over time were shown in both the increased depth and level of her comments. Findings suggest that Book Club is a valuable social context for second language learners to experience meaningful and authentic opportunities to learn to use academic discourse to discuss texts. (One table of data is included, and 15 references are attached.)
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Taffy E. Raphael
Cynthia H. Brock
304 Erickson Hall
Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI 48824
(517) 355 8292 (office)

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in an Urban Elementary School

Running Head: Learning the Literacy Culture

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Mei: Learning the Literacy Culture in an Urban Elementary School

Today's elementary classrooms are characterized by diverse groups of students who reflect a range of cultures and home languages. Estimates of the numbers of such students in American classrooms range from one to over three million, reflecting a significant number of students that come from language backgrounds other than English (Garcia, 1990). This population is likely to increase steadily, which calls for changes in many present educational practices in the United States to better meet the needs of all students. This paper describes Mei, a second language learner from Vietnam, in terms of her participation in a literature-based reading instructional program, Book Club (see McMahon & Raphael, in press; Raphael, McMahon, Goatley, Bentley, Boyd, Pardo, & Woodman, 1992). Broadly, we were interested in Mei's developing proficiency with English during her first three years in the American educational system. More specifically, through the study of her experiences, we examined the potential of a literature-based reading program to provide an authentic and natural environment for the development of academic discourse for second language learners like Mei. In conducting this case study, we were informed by research and scholarly discussions of second language learners, current theories of learning and development and trends in literacy curriculum and instruction.

Background of the Study

Exploration of language education programs for second language learners (e.g., Chamot & O'Malley, 1986) suggests that effective learning of a second language is best accomplished when natural interactions are stressed, rather than formal instruction of linguistic structures through drills, memorization, and teaching grammatical rules (Garcia, 1990). However, natural interactions alone may not be sufficient for helping these students become facile with the academic discourse that is central to success in school. Cummins (1984) argues that there are significant differences in the communication skills represented by informal

face-to-face interactions and those of academic talk. Informal interaction tends to be highly context-embedded (e.g., gestures, nuances of voice), while the academic discourse, especially by the upper elementary grades, tends to be both context-reduced and more cognitively demanding (Collier, 1989). Therefore, there is a need for educators to merge opportunities for natural interactions with appropriate instruction for effective interaction in academic contexts.

Rodriguez (1982) suggests that differences in children's informal talk in their native languages and their use of academic talk in their second languages may reflect perceived differences in goals for each language: the intimacy through conversation within one's native language, and the public voice of the second language. The differences between informal home settings and academic school settings may create artificial barriers to second language learners' ultimate success in acquiring academic skills such as reading, comprehending, and responding to literature in their second language. These barriers may exist when second language learners are unaware that they can draw on their knowledge of language and its structure and apply that knowledge as they learn English. Providing opportunities for children to engage in academic discourse in English in natural settings creates opportunities to use their knowledge of language and language structure from their first language as they learn English.

Recently, scholars have stressed the value of social constructivist theories in examining literacy instruction for diverse learners (e.g., Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Gavelek, 1986; Hiebert, 1991). Three assumptions underlie such theories of learning: (1) knowledge is constructed through the interactions among individuals within the socio-cultural environment, (2) higher mental functions such as those involved in reading, writing, and academic discourse are both social and cultural in nature, and (3) learning is facilitated through the assistance of more knowledgeable members of the community and culture. This

perspective is critical when examining diverse learners and the range of cultural, ethnic, and language backgrounds they bring to the classroom and literacy learning; as well as the potential of a reading program that has at its core, the opportunities for diverse groups of students to work together to construct meaning for the texts they have read. The perspective posits that there are no universal ways in which languages have developed or function in society or within individuals. It may help us understand why shifts to literature-based reading programs with instructional emphases on discussion about text may reduce barriers artificially created by lack of opportunities for second language learners to engage in extended academic talk.

Recent emphases on discussion groups during reading instruction provide alternative settings for diverse learners with differing language backgrounds to engage in one form of academic discourse as equals, as they talk about the books they have read. These new contexts for reading instruction encourage students to engage in *discourse about text*, the academic basis for school learning. Eeds and Wells (1989) detailed 5th and 6th grade students' success within teacher-led groups as they maintained conversations, showed literature comprehension and interpretative abilities, and evaluated the quality of the literature selections. In a case study of a 5th grade student participating in student-led discussion groups, McMahon, Pardo, & Raphael (1991) detailed the role of the students' cultural background, prior knowledge and interests, and specific concepts related to the theme of the books read. These settings provide a context to encourage students' development of both efferent and affective response to literature through social interaction, response that can be eventually internalized as individual transaction with text.

Yet, as Penfield (1987) notes, regular education teachers have little experience working with language minority students and are often uncertain about

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how to integrate these students into their ongoing academic activities, and may, in fact, deny them access to the very contexts that they need. This case study provides insights into how a second language learner like Mei learns to participate in a literature-based reading program and eventually to assume a leadership role with her peers.

The Context and Methods of the Study

The context in which this case study developed was an urban neighborhood K-5 school in a large midwestern city district. The school has a diverse student population in a low-income community suffering from many of the problems typical of larger urban areas: transience, drugs, and related high percentage of student turnover in the school, high proportion of single parent families affected by increasing unemployment within the state, and so forth. Mei was a member of Ms. Pardo's classroom in 3rd and 5th grade, and Ms. Woodman's in 4th. She was bussed to a bilingual program for half days during 3rd and 4th grade.

The Reading Program: Book Club

Mei's reading program was literature-based in all three grades. However, Ms. Pardo noted that the 3rd grade reading program was more similar to one structured around a basal reader than Book Club, the program that Mei experienced in 4th and 5th grades. Book Club fostered several goals of literacy instruction consistent with the tenets of social constructivism and focussed on changing the conventions of current instructional practices: (1) promoting students' understanding, enjoyment, and choice to engage in literary activities, (2) helping students learn to acquire, synthesize, and evaluate information from text, and (3) helping students develop a language to talk about literacy.

Book Club's components included reading, writing, discussion, and instruction, structured to support students' learning to engage in discussions about texts. At the core of the program were the student-led discussion groups,

Book Clubs, from which the program takes its name. Supporting students' ability to participate in Book Clubs are reading activities (e.g., silent, paired, choral), writing activities that support preparation for and reflection upon the Book Club discussions, and whole class discussions (i.e., Community Share) that led into and/or provided follow-up after the Book Clubs. Instruction was designed to help students with the skills critical to reading, writing, small and large group discussion, and ranged from activities such as comprehension strategy instruction (e.g., mapping, sequencing) to instruction in small and large group discussion strategies.

The Participant

Mei was born May 15, 1980, in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, the youngest of four children. She lives with her mother and three brothers; her father remains in Vietnam. Mei's path to the United States involved a week in Thailand, six months in the Philippines, brief stays in California and New York City, then settling in Michigan.

Mei was in Vietnam for 1st and 2nd grade before beginning 3rd grade in the United States. She attended English classes for five months while in the Philippines and continued English instruction during 3rd and 4th grades. Her 1st and 2nd grade classes in Vietnam were large. Lectures, copying, memorization, and recitation were the primary instructional structures, with little peer interaction. Mei was first taught the Vietnamese alphabet, then words, and eventually reading connected text. While Mei still speaks Vietnamese and can read letters from friends and family in Vietnam, she cannot write in Vietnamese. In the 3rd and 4th grade bilingual program, Mei's teachers typically used thematic units to help Mei and her classmates learn to read, write, speak, and listen in English. Though instruction was in English, a paraprofessional who worked with Mei spoke Vietnamese. Mei's standardized scores placed her at the

borderline for continuation of the bilingual program in 5th grade, but her desire to discontinue was supported by her bilingual instructors, based on Mei's motivation and successes in her 4th grade classroom.

Data Sources

We collected information about Mei from 3rd through 5th grades using several data sources: reading logs; journal entries; audio- and video-tapes of Mei's Book Clubs; video-tapes of whole class discussions; field notes; transcripts of Book Clubs; and interviews with Mei, her classroom teachers, her family, her ESL teachers, and the United Catholic Conference (Mei's family's sponsoring agency). Most data were from Mei's 4th and 5th grade reading program. For this paper we focus on the data sources related to Mei's oral language use during Book Club discussions, using three representative Book Clubs: winter, 4th grade (12/12/90); fall, 5th grade (10/23/91); and spring, 5th grade (6/3/92). This focus provided insights into Mei's use of academic discourse, and the social interactions that supported her comprehension of and response to literature.

Procedures

To select three target Book Clubs that were representative of the entire data set, we followed qualitative procedures recommended by Bogdan and Biklen (1992) and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983). Three of the criteria we considered were: (1) the dimensions of time, people, and context varied in systematic ways across the three discussions, (2) the discussions were representative (e.g. length, Mei's role, lesson sequence) for their respective time periods, and (3) multiple data sources were available for triangulation of data. Once we selected our target Book Clubs, we systematically searched through the documentation to determine relevant data, and to catalogue the data in terms of the emerging patterns. In addition to continued (re)reading of the three transcripts, each was analyzed in terms of: (1) the number of times each student initiated a new

topic, (2) the nature of peers' responses to initiated topics, (3) the total number of "contributions" (i.e., turns to speak) within each Book Club, and (4) the nature or purposes of each "conversational exchange" (i.e., the total contributions within the same topic or focus).

Results and Discussion: Two Primary Themes

We used the broad lens of examining Mei's oral language use within the context of Book Club discussions about literature to learn both about her development as an English language user, as well as how the Book Club context supported this development. Two themes emerged from the data: (1) changes in Mei's general participation in her Book Clubs, and (2) changes in the substantive features of Mei's discourse.

Changes in Mei's general participation over time. We noticed two trends in Mei's general participation over time, one of increased amounts, the second, increased self-confidence. The amount of Mei's participation in her Book Clubs increased from a fifth of the overall contributions in her 4th grade 4-member Book Club, to a third of the overall contributions in her 5-member Book Club during the spring of 5th grade (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

The social constructivist perspective underlying this study suggests that cognitive abilities fundamental to participating successfully in these discussions are social and cultural in nature. Mei's early schooling helped her develop skills more related to passive reception of ideas (e.g., copying from the board, memorizing presented ideas) than those basic to the interactive nature of a nontraditional reading program. Mei had to learn not only to read, write, and discuss using English, but how to do so in a culture that was in stark contrast to the culture of school in which she began. Her experiences as a member of a

student-led discussion group provided a context for assuming an active role in the process of learning to use academic discourse about text.

We also noticed an increase in Mei's self-confidence, in terms of increased initiations of new topics and persistence in getting her topics discussed by her peers. In the 4th grade winter Book Club, she initiated new topics four times, yet her peers responded to only two. In both cases the response was a simple acknowledgment that she had spoken or a brief comment. Similarly, in the 5th grade fall Book Club, she initiated new topics five times, with only three eliciting any response, and in each case a simple comment from the same peer. In contrast, in the spring, 5th grade discussion, Mei initiated new topics of conversation eight times and her peers responded immediately to six of these topic initiations with responses that extended the groups' conversation. Further, on one occasion when the group did not respond to Mei's initial attempt, she reintroduced the same topic later in the Book Club and it was discussed at length. The other time that the group did not respond to her topic, Andy had asked her to respond to a different question, which she answered.

Her ability to gain the floor seemed partially due to increased self-confidence as she persisted in making her point or asking her question during Book Club discussions. Gaining the floor was challenging, especially when students were excited about the discussion. In Mei's earlier Book Clubs, if she did not get the floor on her first attempt, she gave up. However, by spring of 5th grade, she used a range of strategies to ensure the discussion of one of her topics. A character in the text, Park's Quest (Paterson, 1988), had called Vietnamese "killers," referring to his father's death in the Vietnam war. Not surprisingly, Mei wanted to talk about this and attempted to interrupt a conversation to ask her question. She was (appropriately) ignored, which earlier in the year would have silenced her. By this time in her Book Club experiences,

instead she employs a range of strategies to obtain the floor. She initiated her intent with the statement, "I have a question," as two peers discuss another of the main characters. When Mei's comment elicited no response, she prefaced the same statement with a call for attention, "you guys." When the students continued without responding to her requests to ask a question, Mei used a third strategy, entering into overlapping speech, joining Jean on the words, "brother and sister:¹"

Jean: Thanh. They were [brother and sister.

Mei: [brother and sister.

When the overlapping speech strategy didn't help her to gain the floor, she used two other strategies: raising her voice, then a direct criticism, "Who's talking more!" Her comments drew Jason's support, "All right," and Andy's attention as he asks her how she would feel in one of the character's places.

Immediately after answering Andy's question above, Mei, who now had their attention, asked the group the question she had been trying to initiate, and her peers responded to her question.

Mei: You guys, I have a question. Did, did you think like when, when Park you know what he said, he said all, all of the Vietnamese people are the killers. How, how come they be friends with Thanh?

Jason: Dang man. [I would take that word back then.

Stark: [I'd be, I don't,

Mei: But, but he, he be friends with her like when, when he don't even know that, that is his, his sister.

This transcript segment illustrates her participation, specifically in terms of increased confidence and range of strategies that allow her to persist until she has her group's attention, which gives her control over the next topic.

1 Transcripts conventions include the use of a bracket, "[" to indicate overlapping speech; the use of spacing to indicate where the overlaps have occurred; a "/" indicates a 1-second pause.

Mei's increased participation and related strategy knowledge may have developed solely from maturation and practice. Alternatively, her development was facilitated through the assistance of more knowledgeable others, and influenced by social and cultural practices. In his autobiographical essay, Rodriguez (1982) describes the months he spent in school as a second language learner, fearful of using a "public" voice, English, with its goal of making oneself understood; contrasted with his comfort using his native language with its goal of self-expression and creating intimacy. Similarly, in interviews and informal conversations Mei described being unable to make herself understood when she spoke. Her beliefs were confirmed by experiences such as the time early in 5th grade when Stark made fun of her saying "golf," in place of "God." Yet, the social experiences Mei used to confirm her differences from her peers were supplanted over time as she learned from them strategies for developing her own public voice. The range of strategies for obtaining the floor were not part of the formal instruction of "how to share." Rather, these emerged over the course of the students' daily discussions. Mei learned to speak up, speak louder, use overlapping speech, and persist in asking questions she thought important; she learned through her interaction with peers the links between her private and public voices, the links between learning English words and the cultural norms of discourse with those words in talking about books.

In addition to peer interactions through Book Club discussions, Mei's teachers encouraged her participation. For example, after several months in 4th grade, Mei began to talk more in small groups, but rarely volunteered during whole class discussions. In a January, 4th grade Book Club, Mei had begun to talk about her family's experience during and after the Vietnam war. Her peers were interested, asked many questions and the discussion continued after other Book Club groups had ended. The other students drifted over to listen to Mei's

group until she found herself talking in front of most of the students in her classroom. This was a positive experience on two levels. First, she was successful in using her public voice in English, as Rodriguez (1982) describes, *directing her words to a general audience of listeners, making herself understood by many others.* Second, she saw that her own knowledge and experiences were valued by and of interest to her peers. The effects of these efforts were seen in Mei's gradually increased participation in whole class discussions.

The principle that learning is facilitated through more knowledgeable members of a community was often reflected in Mei's position as the less knowledgeable member. In both 4th and 5th grades, when a Vietnamese child with minimal listening and no speaking vocabulary in English entered Mei's classroom, Mei's teachers asked her to help; she became the more knowledgeable other. These experiences provided Mei with tangible evidence of her continuing development and made clear her role as an integral part of the classroom culture and community.

Through formal instruction, informal "teachable moments," and extended opportunity to use strategies in academic conversations with peers, we saw changes over time in Mei's general participation as well as her confidence and persistence. Further changes appeared in the content of her conversation.

Changes in the substantive features of Mei's discourse over time. Information about the substantive features of Mei's discourse derive from the analysis of the purposes of the conversational exchanges within each Book Club discussion. The changes in these features over time were shown in both the increased depth and level of Mei's comments. Most of Mei's comments in the winter of 4th grade (approximately 60%) were simple statements like "Yeah," or "I don't know," which nonetheless reflected growth from virtually no comments in 3rd grade. By fall of 5th grade, these simple comments reduced to 30% of her contributions, a trend that continued throughout 5th grade as they dropped to

10%. This created changes in the content of her contributions.

The difference in the level and depth of Mei's comments is illustrated with a comparison between a segment of a transcript from winter of 4th grade and one from spring of 5th. In the 4th grade segment, Mei and her peers compared and contrasted two different picture books based on the same folktale. Mei's initial comments are "Yeah," in response to two attempts on Leanne's part to elicit more information following Mei's statement that she thought the two books were alike. When Leanne persisted, asking her to identify specific parts where the two books were alike, Mei provided a list that she had taken from her reading log. When Eva challenged Mei, asking for more information, Mei summarized the story elements. In this example, Mei responded to her peers, but took little leadership to direct the conversation. Her strategies for discussion derive largely from responding with simple comments (i.e., Yeah), or reading or summarizing what she has written in her reading log.

Leanne: (Interrupting) So you thought this is just like the book *Weaving of the Dream*.

Mei: Yeah.

Leanne: Um, What parts were just like the *Weaving of the Dream*?

Mei: Yeah.

Leanne: What parts were,

Mei: Um/ that um/ that/ that um/ their mother have 2 sons, but they have different names and the red fairy married the youngest one.

Eva: What do you mean he went to go find the red fairies?

Mei: Um/ he/ he/ he um/ he said he saw them. Then he go and he saw that red fairy and she, he tell her that, that, that the story about his, his mother. Then she give her coins and then he get home and he tells about his mother. And um/ and they are married.

In contrast, in the spring of 5th grade, Mei and her peers are highly interactive as they attempt to clarify complicated family relationships crucial

to plot comprehension, with Mei playing a leadership role directing the conversation and elaborating on students' comments, rather than relying on simple comments or reading from her log. The Book Club members are actively involved in developing their knowledge of complex relationships among the characters through their oral interaction.

Mei: We're not done. How come you're standing up? Um, does you think Thanh is going to get mad at him? Park, I mean at uncle Frank?

Stark: No.

Jason: I don't know. Uhhhhh,

Jean: I think uncle Frank wanted her to tell her.

Mei: Uh huh (negative). He, he don't even talk to Thanh about the, about the father, about her father though, and how could she even know and,

Jean: Her mother was going to. It said in the (Jean's turning pages flipping through the book),

Mei: But how come she know that, she know that it's her father then?

Jean: It, it says in her that her mother was going to tell her.

Stark: Do you think um that um, I think that Park's ma knows// but she didn't have the nerve to tell him.

Mei's contributions varied considerably. First, she issued an implicit command to one of her peers to stay with the group. Next, as Mei and her peers sort through their understanding of the relationships between Park and Uncle Frank; Park and Thanh; and Park, Thanh and their father, she offered a counter-argument with supporting details (*Uh huh. . .he don't even talk to Thanh. . .how could she even know*). Finally, she issued a challenge, probing for more information, *But how come she knows. . .?* to which both Jean and Stark respond.

The range of responses that Mei demonstrated during Book Club, like her more active participation, may have evolved from daily practice. Yet, Mei's contributions in both content and leadership reflected an internalization of

norms and values integral to the specific culture of her Book Club classrooms, learned through social interaction with her peers and facilitated by the assistance of more knowledgeable members of the community and culture -- whether peers or teachers, through modeling and formal instruction. Further, students knew that they had an authentic context in which their thinking and written work in their logs would become public, and that such thinking and writing "paid off" in more stimulating and useful Book Club discussions. Mei was not singled out as one who needed such support, but rather, was a member of a community of learners and teachers who relied on each other for new ideas, for guidance, and for support as they developed their literacy and discussion abilities.

Conclusion

In this study we sought to gain insights into Mei's development as a proficient user of English in her reading program and into Book Club as a context for second language learners to engage in academic discourse related to literature. These were examined within a social constructivist perspective, thus examining the theory's explanatory power.

Over a three year period, from not speaking in 3rd grade academic settings to minimal talk and risk-taking to participating as an active leader in peer group discussions, we saw that Mei's command over the English language and her public use of the language in academic settings greatly increased. We do not claim that this growth is solely attributable to Book Club. However, the results of the analysis of the three Book Club events, with supporting information from interviews, field notes, observations, and written work suggests that Book Club is a valuable social context for second language learners to experience meaningful and authentic opportunities to learn to use academic discourse to discuss texts. It provides a site where diverse students with differing levels of literacy and oracy abilities come together to construct meaning; where the

social and cultural nature of higher mental functions such as summarizing, challenging, questioning, etc. is clear; and where it appears that learning to participate actively in the reading, writing, and discussion of literature is facilitated through the peers' interactions among themselves and with their teachers. The images that emerge from this analysis argue against learning as an isolated activity divorced from one's social and cultural background, developing as a result of the evolution of universal principles of discovery, or as a direct result of teaching specific but decontextualized skills.

Mei valued Book Club for its continuing and important role in helping her comprehend text. In interviews across 4th and 5th grade, she indicated that she because she was not skilled in English, her Book Club peers were critical to her success in reading: "Well like, like when you're reading a book and I, and I'm starting with my Book Club group and sometimes, I don't even, I don't understand something, I could ask at my Book Club group and then they told me something that I should understand. So that's why I like Book Club." Through her social interactions in Book Club, Mei was able to construct a sense of what it meant to comprehend. For Mei, this often meant selecting an issue from the text for transaction within her group. The groups' responses to her confirmed, elaborated or altered her initial perspectives. Thus, she had a model of what could be internalized, not only in the process of comprehending, but in the more general thought processes involved in discourse about the texts she had read.

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Table 1

Proportion of Mei's Participation in Three Target Book Clubs

| Date | Length | Number of exchanges | Mei's exchanges | Students in Book Club | Percentage of Mei's Contributions |
|----------|---------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 12/12/90 | 9 min. | 98 | 21 | 4 | 21% |
| 10/23/91 | 11 min. | 240 | 64 | 5 | 27% |
| 6/3/92 | 16 min. | 296 | 94 | 5 | 32% |